IBERIA
An International Journal of Theoretical Linguistics

Spanish subjects can be subjects: Acquisitional and empirical evidence[1]

Julio Villa-García
julio.villa-garcia@villanova.edu
Villanova University

DOI to be assigned

Abstract: The paper provides novel converging acquisitional and empirical evidence from Spanish in support of the hypothesis that preverbal subjects in Spanish can, but need not, be left-dislocated constituents in the CP layer; they can occupy the canonical subject position, Spec,TP, contrary to what is often assumed in the literature. On the basis of acquisitional and statistical evidence gathered from a longitudinal study of five children, the paper argues against Grinstead's (1998 *et seq.*) claim that overt subjects emerge in development concurrently with less controversially CP-related phenomena such as *wh*-questions and dislocations. Moreover, based on the different distributional behavior of genuine subjects and dislocations/foci in the context of desiderative/exhortative sentences introduced by *que* 'that,' the paper argues that Spec,TP/AgrSP is indeed available in Spanish and can only host *bona fide* subjects to the exclusion of non-subject XPs.

Keywords: *Overt subjects, left periphery, wh-questions, dislocations, acquisition.*

Resumen: Este artículo proporciona evidencia convergente de dos estudios del español, uno adquisicional y otro empírico, en favor de la hipótesis de que los sujetos antepuestos al verbo en español pueden ocupar no solo una posición en la periferia izquierda oracional, sino también la posición

[1] I would like to thank Željko Bošković and William Snyder for their valuable help. I am also grateful to Jonathan Bobaljik, Renato Lacerda, Diane Lillo-Martin, Jairo Nunes, and two anonymous *Iberia* reviewers for useful comments and suggestions. I would like to acknowledge the suggestions made by the audiences at GALA 2009 Lisbon, HLS 2009 Puerto Rico, BUCLD 34 2009, BLS 2011, LSRL 41 2011 Ottawa, and HLS 2011 Georgia. This research has been supported in part by National Institute of Health grant # NIDCD 00183 to Diane Lillo-Martin and William Snyder. Thanks are also due to Nasser Meerkhan for his assistance with parts of this research. Special thanks to Andrew Radford for his inspiration and constant support throughout the years and for introducing me to the topic of subjecthood in null-subject languages back in 2007. I am also thankful to Ángel Jiménez-Fernández for his encouragement and editorial assistance.

canónica de sujeto (el especificador del Sintagma Tiempo, ST), contrariamente a lo que se suele suponer en la literatura. A la luz de los resultados adquisicionales y estadísticos obtenidos a partir de un estudio longitudinal de cinco niños, en el artículo se arguye en contra de la propuesta de Grinstead (1998 y siguientes), que afirma que los sujetos léxicos surgen en el habla infantil al mismo tiempo que ciertos fenómenos que indiscutiblemente pertenecen a la periferia izquierda, tales como las preguntas *qu-* y las dislocaciones a la izquierda o tópicos. Asimismo, partiendo de los distintos patrones de distribución de los sujetos y de las dislocaciones y focos en el contexto de oraciones desiderativas y exhortativas introducidas por un *que* léxico, en el artículo se propone que la posición del especificador de ST/SConcSujeto en efecto está disponible en español y sólo puede albergar sujetos genuinos.

Palabras clave: *Sujetos léxicos, periferia izquierda, preguntas qu-, dislocaciones, adquisición.*

Resumo: Este trabalho fornece evidência convergente de dois estudos do espanhol, um aquisicional e outro empírico, em favor da hipótese de que os sujeitos pré-verbais nessa língua podem ocupar não só uma posição na periferia esquerda da sentença, como também a posição canônica de sujeito (Spec,TP), contrariando o que frequentemente se assume na literatura. À luz dos resultados aquisicionais e estatísticos obtidos a partir de um estudo longitudinal de cinco crianças, o artigo argumenta contra a proposta de Grinstead (1998 e seguintes) de que os sujeitos plenos surgem na fala infantil ao mesmo tempo que outros fenômenos indiscutivelmente relacionados à periferia esquerda, tais como perguntas-*qu* e topicalização. Além disso, a partir dos distintos padrões de distribuição de sujeitos e de deslocamentos e focos no contexto de orações desiderativas e exortativas introduzidas por *que*, propõe-se que a posição de Spec,TP/AgrSP está de fato disponível em espanhol e pode abrigar apenas sujeitos legítimos, à exclusão de XPs não-sujeitos.

Palavras-chave: *Sujeitos plenos, periferia esquerda, perguntas-qu, deslocamentos, aquisição.*

The syntax of subjects in quintessential null-subject languages like Spanish has attracted a great deal of attention in the literature, and their account remains the object of painstaking inquiry, as witnessed by a vast body of research which spans more than a quarter of a century. The questions raised by the existing works on subjecthood in Spanish-style null-subject languages to date include whether (some version of) the [Spec, IP/TP]/EPP analysis of subjects assumed for languages like English can be maintained for Spanish, and whether overt preverbal subjects in Spanish have properties reminiscent of dislocated structures hosted in the CP area/left periphery. In parallel fashion, related questions include the position(s) occupied by postverbal subjects, as

well as the characterization of the differences between preverbal and postverbal subjects. One important finding so far is that the account of overt, lexical subjects in Spanish cannot rely solely on purely syntactic factors: other aspects pertaining to the domains of the discourse-pragmatics interface (information structure), as well as the lexicon-syntax interface (type of verbal predicate involved) may also bear on the occurrence and distribution of subjects.

The present study aims to illuminate the longstanding lack of consensus over whether preverbal subjects in languages like Spanish are located in the same structural position as subjects in languages like English, i.e., in [Spec,IP/TP] (or in [Spec,AgrSP], in the split INFL framework) or whether they are CP-related phenomena in the left periphery/CP. In this paper, I provide converging evidence from the domain of first language acquisition and from adult Spanish that preverbal subjects in Spanish can be in the specifier position of TP/AgrSP, contrary to the widely held claim that Spanish subjects are *always* situated in left-peripheral projections.

The first argument to this effect comes from acquisition. In influential work, Grinstead (1998 *et seq.*) has advocated the Interface Delay Hypothesis, wherein children in their initial production cannot access the CP layer, assumed to interface with the discourse (though see Poeppel and Wexler 1993, Kapetangianni 2010, and Yang 2011, among others, for evidence from different languages that children show early knowledge of the factors regulating word order). If subjects in Spanish are CP-related elements, then Grinstead's system predicts that children acquiring null-subject languages like Spanish and Catalan will not make use of overt subjects until the CP layer is available to them. This in turn makes the prediction that children will start making use of overt subjects at the same time as they start to employ unambiguously left-peripheral phenomena such as *wh*-questions and topics (instances of Clitic-Left Dislocation, CLLD). However, I provide acquisitional evidence from a longitudinal study of five children acquiring Iberian Spanish that overt subjects emerge statistically significantly earlier than *wh*-questions in Spanish, which suggests that overt subjects may not (always) be CP-related phenomena. Therefore, this result is fully consistent with subjects occupying a dedicated subject position in the inflectional layer (i.e., Spec,TP/AgrSP), thus casting doubt on the Interface Delay Hypothesis.

The second argument comes from adult Spanish. I identify a syntactic position which given standard assumptions about clause structure can only be Spec,TP/AgrSP. Crucially, in this position, only *bona fide* subjects can occur, to the exclusion of non-subject XPs, such as focused or CLLDed constituents. The relevant evidence comes from the different behavior of CLLD/foci and subjects in the context of desiderative/exhortative clauses headed by the complementizer *que* /ke/. The conclusion drawn from the novel facts is that Spanish subjects can (but need not) be left-dislocated elements; they can occupy the canonical subject position –Spec,TP/AgrSP, which is furthermore reserved for genuine subjects, in contrast to what is often assumed.

Overall, whereas it is by now standard that subjects can be left-dislocated phrases in the left periphery, the converging acquisitional and empirical evidence adduced in this paper indicates that preverbal subjects in Spanish might in fact be left-dislocated, but they can also occupy the canonical subject position – Spec,TP/AgrSP. The major implication of the acquisitional and syntactic evidence offered in this paper is that preverbal subjects in Spanish are *not always* left-dislocated constituents in the CP domain.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 1 provides a brief overview of the longstanding debate surrounding the syntax of overt subjects in Spanish; Section 2 is devoted to the acquisitional study testing two predictions derived from the syntactic accounts reviewed in Section 1; Section 3 provides novel facts from adult Spanish bearing on the existing controversy over the account of preverbal subjects; Section 4 is the conclusion.

1. Competing accounts of preverbal subjects in Spanish

The analysis of subjects in paradigmatic null-subject languages like Spanish has been the object of heated debate in the literature. In addition to null, non-overt subjects (cf. (1a)), much controversy has centered on the account of (overt) preverbal (cf. (1b)) and postverbal (cf. (1c)) subjects.

(1) a. Llegó a las tres
arrive-3.SG-PAST at the three
'He or she arrived at three.'

b. *Pedro* te ha llamado
Peter cl. has call-PART.
'Peter has called you.'

c. Te ha llamado *Pedro*
cl. has call-PART Peter
'Peter has called you.'

Focusing on preverbal subjects (cf. (1b)), two major proposals polarize the spectrum of analyses of such subjects in languages like Spanish: the classical IP/TP-EPP account and the CP account.[2]

1.1. Subjects in Spec,TP

The TP-EPP analysis argues that overt preverbal subjects in Spanish occupy Spec,TP, much like subjects in English, as shown schematically in (2).

(2) [TP Pedro [T' te ha] [VP llamado]] (cf. (1b))

This analysis was pioneered by Rizzi (1982) for Romance null-subject varieties like Italian and adopted in the work of Torrego (1984), Belletti (1988), Motapanyane-Hill (1991), and Cardinaletti (1996), among many others. Recent proponents of this analysis include Goodall (2001), Suñer (2003), Ortega-Santos (2005, 2006, 2008) and Gupton (to appear).[3] It should be noted that soon after the appearance of Pollock's (1989) split-TP proposal, different preverbal subject positions were identified within the inflectional layer, including Spec,AgrSP and Spec,TP (see, *mutatis mutandis*, Cardinaletti 2004 and Zubizarreta 1999).

1.2. Subjects in Spec,CP/TopicP

The CP account of preverbal subjects in Spanish, for its part, assumes that overt preverbal subjects are discourse-sensitive Ā-constituents whose appearance and distribution is governed by discourse notions such as topic and focus. On this view, preverbal subjects are instances of topics or Clitic-Left Dislocation (CLLD) situated in a CP specifier (cf. (3)), more precisely in Spec,TopicP, assuming Rizzi's (1997 *et seq.*) split-CP analysis.[4]

[2] Henceforth, I will use TP instead of IP or IP/TP for ease of exposition.

[3] See also Costa (2004) for a Spec,TP-analysis of preverbal subjects in European Portuguese, and Roussou and Tsimpli (2006) and Spyropoulos and Revithiadou (2009) for a similar analysis of preverbal subjects in Greek.

[4] Note that the accounts cited in the text differ from each other as to the precise left-peripheral position occupied by the preverbal subject and its nature (i.e., specifier or adjunct). Since this issue is not immediately relevant to the discussion at hand, I will not explore it further here.

(3) [CP Pedro [C' ∅] [TP ... [T' te ha] [VP llamado]]] (cf. (1b))

This analysis has been pursued for a number of Spanish-style null-subject languages by Philippaki-Warburton (1985 *et seq.*), Contreras (1991), Otero (1993), Barbosa (1995, 2009), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Speas (1994), Olarrea (1996), Ordóñez (1997), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Kato (1999), Ordóñez and Treviño (1999), Ticio (2004), and Holmberg (2005), among many others. This type of analysis often goes hand in hand with the claim that Spanish lacks the EPP, or that in Spanish the EPP can be satisfied in an alternative way (e.g., in languages like Spanish, the EPP can be satisfied by head movement of the verb and its "rich" agreement morphemes to T°, as argued by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998). Under this account, lexical subjects in Spanish do not necessarily have to be in Spec,TP, since this position might not be projected, or ultimately it may be occupied by the empty category *pro*, in the spirit of Baker (1996). However, authors including Taraldsen (1992), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Ordóñez and Treviño (1999), and Ticio (2004), among others, have tried to eliminate *pro* altogether by claiming that the "rich" subject-verb agreement morphology functions as a subject and receives Case. Moreover, Manzini and Savoia (2002) have put forward the suggestion that the verbal inflection is also capable of receiving a θ-role (see also Holmberg 2005 and Barbosa 2009, *inter alia*).

1.3. Spec,TP as an Ā position

As a compromise between the TP and CP accounts, authors such as Masullo (1992), Solà (1992), Fontana (1993), and Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), among others, have suggested that Spec,TP in languages like Spanish has Ā-properties and can host Ā-moved elements such as topics and *wh*-items (see Gallego 2007 for discussion). More accurately, whereas some proposals explicitly allow Spec,IP/TP to be occupied by non-subjects such as topics, which I refer to as the Generalized-Spec,TP-as-an-Ā-position approach, others argue that Spec,TP is an Ā position that is still reserved for subjects (e.g., Uribe-Etxebarria 1992). In this respect, Gupton (2010) discusses the inconclusive results of a number of tests used in order to determine the Ā/A-status of preverbal subjects in a number of Romance null-subject languages. As noted by an anonymous reviewer, the inconclusiveness of such heuristics comes as no surprise, given that preverbal subjects in Spanish can in some cases be proper

subjects and in other cases dislocated subjects, as will be argued below (though it should be noted that in this paper I remain silent as to whether preverbal subjects occupying Spec,TP in Spanish display A- or Ā-properties).

1.4. Subjects in Spec,TP or in Spec,CP

Lastly, authors such as Casielles (2001), Camacho (2006, 2011), Beas (2007), and López (2009) have argued that preverbal subjects in Spanish can but *need not* be in the CP domain. In other words, preverbal subjects can occupy a specifier in the CP layer or Spec,TP, a view for which I present novel support in this paper.

Set against this background, this paper aims to explore the relevance of the acquisitional and empirical evidence to be presented in the following sections to the controversy surrounding the status of preverbal subjects summarized in the preceding paragraphs. The reader should note that it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide an exhaustive account of the arguments for each of the positions outlined above. I will merely focus on the pertinence of the novel evidence to be presented here for the longstanding debate regarding the analysis of preverbal subjects and instead refer the reader to the cited sources for the arguments for each position.

2. Acquisitional evidence

This section presents the results of an acquisitional study conducted in order to test some of the predictions of the syntactic theories summarized in the previous section. More specifically, I replicate the studies carried out by Grinstead and colleagues. I first discuss previous studies on the acquisition of subjects in Spanish. I then lay out the acquisitional predictions and the methods employed in the study. Finally, I present the results and discuss their implications for the analysis of subjects in Spanish.

2.1. Grinstead's studies on the acquisition of overt subjects in Spanish

The most influential claims in the literature on child language regarding the acquisition of subjects in Spanish come from the work of John Grinstead

(1998, 2004) and colleagues (e.g., Spinner and Grinstead 2006 and Grinstead and Spinner 2009).[5]

Grinstead (1998) shows on the basis of acquisitional data from child Mexican Spanish and Catalan that children pass through an early stage, commonly referred to as the 'null-subject' or 'no-overt-subject' stage, which lasts until approximately age 2, during which 0 percent of lexical subjects are found (see also Villa-García, to appear, for statistical evidence in support of this claim; see Bel 2001, 2003 and Aguado-Orea and Pine 2002 for a dissenting view). As far as overt subjects are concerned, Grinstead (1998) maintains that at a later stage, once the 'null-subject' stage has come to an end, both preverbal and postverbal subjects start to be used simultaneously (see also Villa-García 2011). Grinstead further argues that overt subjects start to appear crucially once the CP field becomes activated, as shown by the concurrent appearance of other CP-related phenomena such as *wh*-movement and left dislocation. Grinstead takes these findings to provide compelling acquisitional evidence in support of the proposal summarized in Section 1.2 that overt preverbal subjects in languages like Spanish are outside the inflectional layer, possibly located in a specifier in the CP domain. In this connection, Grinstead claims that the left periphery is not available to the child as s/he does not yet have access to pragmatic competence. Put differently, with respect to projections such as Topic and Focus at the early stage, "children do not understand the discourse considerations necessary to use them" (Grinstead, 1998: 40).

More specifically, Grinstead (1998, 2004) has argued that when overt (preverbal and postverbal) subjects begin to be used, their appearance coincides with that of less controversially left-peripheral phenomena such as CLLD and *wh*-questions (see Villa-García and Snyder 2010 for a weaker version of Grinstead's hypothesis). In Grinstead (1998), no statistical support is provided to back up the claim that these three phenomena are acquired concurrently by the children under consideration. Grinstead (2004), for his part, employs statistical methods to support his claims. One problem raised by both studies relates to the fact that no Spanish children produced any instance of *wh*-questions. Therefore, Grinstead's conclusion for Spanish was solely based on

[5] See also Grinstead (2000) for an agreement-based account of the appearance of overt subjects in languages like Spanish, which he later abandons.

the results obtained for the Catalan-speaking children. Grinstead and Spinner (2009), however, tackle this issue and provide data on the acquisition of *wh*-questions in (Mexican) Spanish. The results of the Binomial Test (see Section 2.3.3) performed by the authors reveal that whereas for one child the *p*-value was not significant, it was so for another child (the same occurred for one of the Catalan-acquiring children studied by Grinstead 2004). In the case of the third Spanish-speaking child studied by Grinstead and Spinner (2009), the first uses of *wh*-questions appeared in the same transcript as the first occurrence of overt subjects, suggesting that both constructions emerged together, so no statistical analysis was performed. The results reported for the emergence of overt subjects and left-dislocations were similar in the Grinstead and Spinner (2009) study, with two results being not significant and one *p*-value being significant.

The fact that significant results were found both for the acquisition of subjects and *wh*-questions and for the acquisition of subjects and dislocations in Grinstead (2004) and Grinstead and Spinner (2009) in fact calls into question their conclusion that in null-subject Southern Romance languages, overt subjects and unambiguously CP-related constituents such as *wh*-questions and topics emerge concurrently. Put differently, the results summarized in the preceding paragraph are problematic in that Grinstead's (1998, 2004) predictions imply that *no* single child should acquire overt subjects prior to unambiguously left-peripheral phenomena such as *wh*-questions and topics. The fact that one of the Spanish-acquiring children analyzed by Grinstead and colleagues acquired subjects statistically significantly earlier than dislocations actually disproves the hypothesis that the two constructions became available to the child at the same time. Importantly, only one child is sufficient to falsify the hypothesis that there should be no significant discrepancy between the onset of overt subjects and the onset of dislocations/*wh*-questions, which casts doubt on the interpretation of the results reported in the investigations at issue.

2.2. Predictions

The various accounts of Spanish subjects outlined in Section 1 and the existing studies discussed in the previous section make a number of testable predictions regarding the time-course of acquisition of the pertinent constructions. It is often assumed in the realm of language acquisition that if two phrases occupy the same syntactic position, their acquisition should be

concurrent: neither of the constructions should be acquired significantly earlier than the other. The same holds for the cluster of (seemingly unconnected) properties subsumed by a given macroparameter: the relevant syntactic characteristics are expected to emerge together. By way of illustration, if a given analysis is correct in assuming that constructions A and B are part of the same syntactic phenomenon, then the relevant acquisitional prediction is that A and B will be acquired at approximately the same time by any given child. If the acquisitional data suggest that the acquisition of the two constructions is concurrent, then we have acquisitional evidence in support of the theory being considered. If, on the contrary, the results of the acquisitional study show that the two constructions were acquired at different times by the subjects of the experiment, then we will have grounds to reject the hypothesis that both constructions were acquired simultaneously, and thus the theory under debate will lose credibility.

Therefore, adopting a parametric approach to language acquisition, a prediction of concurrent acquisition can be derived:

(4) *A prediction of concurrent acquisition*

> If the grammatical knowledge (including parameter settings and lexical information) required for construction A, in a given language, is identical to the knowledge required for construction B, then any child acquiring the language is predicted to acquire A and B at the same time.[6]
>
> (Snyder, 2007: 74)

An immediate question that arises in light of (4) is whether this (idealized) prediction also applies to non-syntactic knowledge. This issue is relevant in that, as noted above, Spanish overt subjects seem to be regulated by factors that go beyond a purely syntactic parameter (e.g., information structure). To the extent that these factors can be encoded in the syntax (cf. Section 2.2.2 for an overview of Rizzi's 1997 *et seq.* articulated structure of the left periphery whereby different syntactic positions correspond to different CP-related phenomena), we will assume that a prediction of concurrent acquisition along the lines of (4) is plausible. Note that the phrase "grammatical knowledge" (or the "prerequisites" that the child needs to acquire) in (4) is taken to include not

[6] "Grammatical knowledge" refers to information that the child needs to acquire, i.e., information not available at birth.

only grammatical information pertaining to parameter values and lexical information, but also discourse-pragmatic knowledge including articulations such as topic-comment and focus-presupposition.

2.2.1. Acquisitional predictions derived from Grinstead's 'Interface Delay Hypothesis'

The predictions considered in this paper concern concurrent acquisition. The statistical method used to test this kind of prediction is outlined in Section 2.3.3. I now discuss the predictions explored in this study, based on the syntax and acquisition literature reviewed in the preceding sections.

As noted, Grinstead (1998, 2004) and Grinstead and Spinner (2009) have put forward the contention that in child Catalan and Spanish, overt subjects and less ambiguously left-peripheral constructions such as *wh*-questions and left dislocations start to be used in spontaneous production at the same point in development, which is consistent with the hypothesis that overt subjects are located in the discourse-sensitive clausal left edge of the sentence (i.e., the CP) in Spanish. According to Grinstead, this is the prediction made by those analyses which treat preverbal subjects as left-peripheral elements possibly in a [Spec, TopicP/FocusP] position (see Section 1.2). Since elements which occupy CP-related specifier positions are regulated by discourse-pragmatic factors, Grinstead (1998 and subsequent work) reasons, the relevant left-peripheral constructions are expected to be linked in development, on the assumption that the prerequisites that the child needs to acquire are the same in all the relevant constructions. Note that the findings reported above from previous studies suggest that both preverbal and postverbal subjects are located in the CP –not only preverbal subjects.[7] Similarly, results along the lines of Grinstead's findings leave open the possibility that subjects might reside in either a topic or a focus position in the CP layer.

Given the criticisms raised in Section 2.1, further research into more children acquiring Spanish-style null-subject languages is required, a task which I undertake in the next subsections. Before doing so, I provide an

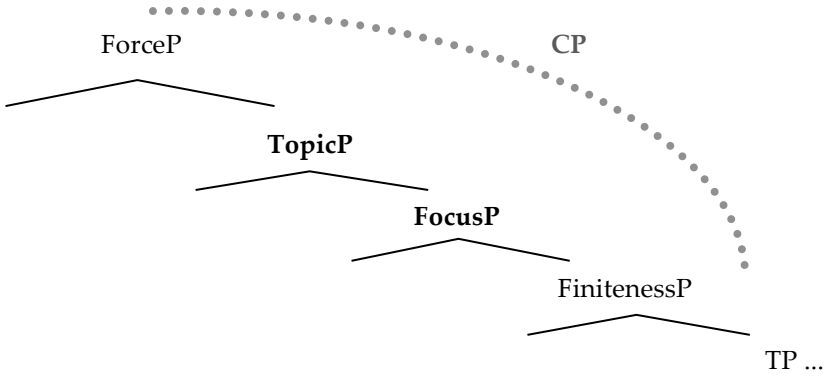
[7] See Ortega-Santos (2008) for the prospect that postverbal subjects are focalized constituents in the left periphery, with the whole TP undergoing remnant movement to the CP layer. For a different view, which assumes a low Focus projection sandwiched between TP and VP, see Belletti (2004) and Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2008).

overview of Rizzi's (1997 *et seq.)* split-CP approach, which is instrumental in Grinstead's system.

2.2.2. Rizzi's split-CP approach and Grinstead's 'Interface Delay Hypothesis'

Following the seminal work of Rizzi (1997, 2001, 2004), it is widely assumed at present that the CP is split into several projections hosting a number of left-peripheral phenomena traditionally associated with the CP domain. As is known, this field is responsible for the interface between syntax and pragmatics. A simplified version of the fine structure of the left periphery (or split CP) is given in (5), where only maximal projections showing specifiers have been included, and where boldface indicates optional phrases, projected on an "as-needed" basis (Rizzi 1997):

(5) *The split CP*



Note that whereas TopicP is recursive (i.e., more than one topic can appear per clause, and a TopicP projection may also appear under FocusP in languages like Italian), only one instance of focus may occur per sentence. It is customary to assume that in languages like Spanish, *wh*-items in main clauses move to the specifier of FocusP, on a par with focused elements, accounting for why the two constructions are in complementary distribution.[8] ForceP is in charge of encoding the force of the sentence (i.e., imperative, declarative, interrogative), while FinitenessP is responsible for information such as whether the sentence is finite (i.e., tensed) or non-finite (i.e., untensed), as well as the

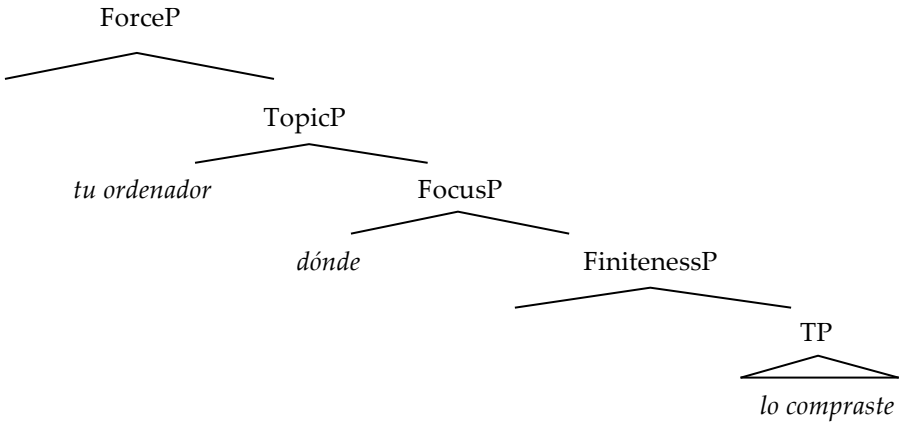
[8] For a potential problem for this claim based on evidence from Greek, see Roussou (2000).

marking of mood, and it hosts overt "desiderative/exhortative" complementizers in its head position (see Section 3).

To illustrate the split CP analysis for Spanish, consider a sentence like (6), which would be analyzed in this framework in the fashion shown in arboreal form in (7):

(6) Tu ordenador, ¿dónde lo compraste?
your computer where cl. bought-2.SG
'Your computer, where did you buy it?'

(7)



As noted in Section 1.2, there is an influential tradition of research in null-subject languages like Spanish that claims that overt subjects in this type of language are left-peripheral, discourse-oriented nominals akin to topics or CLLDs. Let us assume for the sake of simplicity that these topic-like elements are located in [Spec, TopicP] under this analysis, setting aside non-trivial questions including whether these nominals are directly merged in or move to TopicP (see Villa-García 2012b: Ch. 5 for relevant discussion).

As has been seen, with respect to first language acquisition, Grinstead (1998) has advanced the hypothesis that due to children's inability to access pragmatic notions such as new vs. old information–resulting from interface delay–, the topic and focus projections are inactive at an early stage in development. These projections, Grinstead contends, become active concurrently, with the consequence that overt subjects–which are left-peripheral phenomena on this view– *wh*-questions, and topics, begin to emerge at the same time in spontaneous production. Recall from Section 2.1 that Grinstead's (1998, 2004) conclusions are essentially based on Catalan.

In what follows, I will explore two predictions of concurrent acquisition derived from the observation that subjects may be located in the CP domain in Spanish, namely the possibility that overt subjects and *wh*-questions as well as overt subjects and CLLDed phrases start to be used at approximately the same time by children learning null-subject languages like Iberian Spanish. The results will in turn help determine whether it is possible to replicate Grinstead's results, and if not, they may shed new light on the much debated account of overt subjects in Spanish.

2.3. Methods

2.3.1. The data

In order to conduct this quasi-experiment, longitudinal records from five corpora of normally developing, monolingual children acquiring Iberian Spanish were utilized (see Table 1). Four of the corpora were downloaded from the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) database (MacWhinney 2000); the remaining corpus was retrieved from the University of Connecticut Cross-Linguistic Early Syntax Study (CLESS) project database.

TABLE 1
Longitudinal Data

Child	*Variety of Spanish*	*Corpus*	*Database*	*Downloaded/ Retrieved on*	*Age Span*	*# of Transcr.*	*Transcript Frequency*
Emilio (♂)	Iberian	Vila (Vila 1984)	CHILDES	March 7, 2009	00;11,09-02;11,24	27	Monthly/ Biweekly
Inés (♀)	Iberian	Inés	CLESS	April 1, 2009	01;02,00-02;02,11	36	Weekly/ Biweekly
Irene (♀)	Iberian	Llinàs-Grau/Ojea (Ojea 1997)	CHILDES	October 16, 2008	01;05,27-02;04,13	31	Biweekly
Juan (♂)	Iberian	Linaza	CHILDES	March 10, 2009	01;07,02-03;09	18	Mostly Monthly
Magín (♂)	Iberian	Aguirre (Aguirre 1995)	CHILDES	October 14, 2008	01;07-02;04,10	19	Mostly Biweekly

The relevant ages to consider for our purposes range from 1.5 years to 2.5/3 years, on the presumption that during this age span null subjects abound, and overt subjects and left-peripheral phenomena like *wh*-questions start to be used. Therefore, it is likely that this period will provide us with the onset and frequency of use of the constructions of interest. This choice of age is motivated by previous research by Austin et al. (1997) and Grinstead (1998, 2004), who

argue that children acquiring *pro*-drop languages like Spanish pass through an initial null-subject stage during which 100 percent of subjects are silent (see Section 2.1.). Approximately at age 2 years, however, children presumably enter the second stage, which is characterized by the emergence of lexical subjects and phenomena standardly attributed to the CP field.

Furthermore, overt subjects in Spanish are used with high frequency. Thus, children receive a large amount of examples in their input, and older children and adults alike use the construction often. As an illustration, in Juan's first transcript (cf. the "OreaPine" corpus from CHILDES), a sample of the child's father's first 50 sentences shows that 21 (42%) contain null subjects, while 29 (58%) exhibit overt subjects, indicating that overt subjects are actually used with high frequency in adult Spanish (or at least in adult child-directed Spanish). When conducting studies of spontaneous speech, Snyder (2007: 56) reasons, frequency is a crucial consideration, because one has to rely on the child to *select* the construction of interest. For this reason, high-frequency constructions will "reliably occur once they become available, but lower-frequency constructions might, by simple luck of the draw, never be sampled in the child's speech."

2.3.2. Data collection and tabulation

In order to find child utterances containing overt subjects in the written transcripts, I analyzed every line of the child's transcript, searched for relevant data, and counted them manually. The transcripts were then coded for subject type (SV, VS), order of constituents (SVO, VSO, and VOS), sentence type (interrogative, imperative, declarative, or exclamative), and type of predicate involved (copula, unergative, unaccusative, psych, or (di)transitive). Likewise, all sentences containing a fronted constituent (such as topic, focus, fronted adverbial, or *wh*-question) were included. The context of a given sentence was considered by examining the preceding lines of each utterance containing a relevant construction, in order to discard direct imitations of the parents' or caregivers' utterances, and immediate repetitions of the same sentence by the child. The data were tabulated in a lab notebook that was created using the computer spreadsheet program Microsoft Excel®. Similarly, the Mean Length of Utterance in Words (MLUw) for each child was computed automatically using the CLAN program "MLU." Note that even though the data were coded

according to different parameters, not all of them will be considered in this study (e.g., type of predicate); be that as it may, these may be used in future investigations.

2.3.3. Statistical method

As mentioned above, the predictions explored in this paper concern the concurrent, simultaneous acquisition of two constructions. For this reason, the Sign/Binomial test, as outlined in Snyder (2007: Ch. 5), was employed. In a nutshell, the Binomial Test is an exact test of the statistical significance of deviations from a theoretically expected distribution of observations into two categories. This simple technique from probability theory yields a *p*-value and is an example of a non-distributional method for statistical hypothesis testing. The question which this type of statistical method aims to answer concerns the likelihood of a given outcome (e.g., several uses of preverbal subjects (construction A), before the first occurrence of a CLLDed phrase (construction B)), under the null hypothesis that construction B is available to the child as early as A, and has the same relative frequency of use as in later transcripts. In answering this question, we have to resort to an estimate of the relative frequency of A versus B during a period when both are clearly available to the language acquirer. Therefore, it is reasonable to count the uses of A and B in the ten transcripts immediately following the transcript which contained the first use of B. Put another way, the Binomial Test addresses the question of whether the apparent gap between two given constructions is due to the low frequency of use of the construction emerging later, or whether there is a statistically significant difference between the two, strongly suggesting that the two constructions demand different prerequisites that the child needs to have prior to using the particular constructions successfully.

Once the pertinent figures have been collected, the desired probability can be calculated thus:

(8) *Binomial Test*

$p = (X / (X + Y))^Z$

In (8), *p* stands for '*p*-value;' X corresponds to the number of times construction A appears in the ten transcripts following the first clear use of B; Y stands for the times B occurs in the ten transcripts after the first use of B; and Z corresponds to the uses of A before the first clear use of B.

In interpreting the results of the Binomial Test, I adopted the .05 significance level standardly assumed in the Social Sciences. Significant results (i.e., $p < .05$) are thus taken to refute the null hypothesis that constructions A and B emerged simultaneously. If, on the contrary, the *p*-value is higher than the .05 significance level, that is, if the result is null or not significant, the evidence against the null hypothesis (that constructions A and B appeared at the same time) is weak.[9] In short, the Binomial Test allows us to say that a result is significant or not significant, based on the relative frequency of A and B in later transcripts (i.e., approximately in the ten transcripts following the first clear use of B).

2.3.4. Determining first clear uses of the relevant constructions

For the purposes of this study, I adopted a conservative measure of acquisition, along the lines of Stromswold (1996) and Snyder and Stromswold (1997). The measure of acquisition was thus taken to be first clear use, followed soon after by repeated uses. In determining first-of-repeated uses of the structures of interest, unanalyzed strings including formulaic or fixed expressions (i.e., idiomatic expressions), nursery rhymes, poems, song lyrics, isolates (most likely to be transcription errors), repeated sentences containing the same lexical items and inflections, along with immediate repetitions of sentences uttered by the parents, were discarded. Similarly, in counting the data, the above were ignored, together with immediate repetitions of the same sentence by the child.

2.3.5. Criteria for counting relevant structures

In addition to the above, in counting examples of the pertinent constructions, I took into account the following criteria:

[9] A note of caution is in order, though: a null result cannot be taken to provide strong evidence for concurrent acquisition. At most, it can be considered to be consistent with chance (i.e., it may well be the case that one structure could have been used before the other just due to chance). Put differently, a null result, albeit not conclusive, is still somewhat compatible with the hypothesis that both structures arose at the same time. In order to find support for the hypothesis of simultaneous acquisition, a test of correlation should be employed (Snyder, 2007: 76). Yet, a greater number of subjects than that available for this study is required to perform such a test. I leave this task for future research.

In order to count occurrences of overt subjects, the following criteria were adopted:

- Preverbal subjects: unambiguously preverbal subjects with inflected verbs (including subjects of imperative sentences) and subjects to the left of the verb even if these were unquestionably left-dislocated (see below); questions where the subject constitutes the focal element (cf. *Who came?*).
- Postverbal subjects: nominal and sentential postverbal subjects with inflected verbs (including subjects of imperative sentences); nominals of existential sentences with *haber* 'there be' were not counted, since they display object-like properties in Spanish (cf. Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007).

As far as *wh*-questions are concerned, I took into account *wh*-elements appearing with inflected verbs in main and embedded clauses, both with and without overt subjects, and questions where the subject was the focal element (NB: also counted as preverbal subjects, as noted above).

With respect to non-focalized dislocated elements (e.g., CLLD and adverbs), I counted uncontroversial cases of topicalization in Romance, expressed by Cinque's (1990) Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) construction, co-occurring with a coreferential clitic/resumptive pronoun, illustrated in (9).

(9) Al perro lo compramos en Sevilla
the dog cl. bought-1PL in Seville
'We bought the dog in Seville.'

In this category, we also included dislocates to the left of one of the overt complementizers that may appear in the Spanish left periphery (Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009; Villa-García 2012c; *inter alia*):[10]

(10) Papá me dijo que al perro que se lo llevaron
dad cl. told-3SG that the dog that cl. cl. took-3PL
'Dad has told me that they took the dog.'

Similarly, I counted *bona fide* examples of subjects in the left periphery (NB: also counted as preverbal subjects):

[10] Barbosa (2000) in fact suggests that this construction is a diagnostic for dislocation in European Portuguese.

- When the subject precedes a *wh*-item:

(11) Tu madre, ¿cuándo nació?
your mother when was+born-3SG
'As for your mother, when was she born?'

- When the subject appears sandwiched between overt complementizers (Ron 1998):

(12) María dice que tu madre que viene mañana
Mary says that your mother that comes. 3SG tomorrow
'Mary says that your mother is coming tomorrow.'

- When the subject precedes a clear instance of a topicalized/CLLDed structure (and possibly a *wh*-item) (Contreras 1991):

(13) Tu madre al perro, ¿a qué veterinario lo lleva?
your mother the dog, to which veterinary cl. takes-3SG
'Which veterinary does your mother take your dog to?'

- Uncontroversial adverbial topics which are salient in the preceding discourse.

(14) A: ¿Qué pasó *ayer*?
what happened-3SG yesterday
'What happened yesterday?'
B: *Ayer* fuimos al parque con Tita
yesterday went-1PL to+the park with Tita
'Yesterday we went to the park with Tita.'

An important caveat that merits mentioning is the distinction between CLLDs and cases of contrastive focus (Laka 1990, Rizzi 1997) when counting instances of fronted objects. Unlike topics, contrastive *foci* do not trigger the appearance of a concomitant clitic, among other properties (see, e.g., Rizzi 1997). Grinstead (1998, 2004) notes that this may constitute a problem in the sense that when counting occurrences of topics, one may be tempted to include cases of apparent CLLDs without clitics, taking the risk of counting as a topic what in reality is an example of contrastive focus. Still, certain instances of cliticless fronted objects may be salvaged, as Grinstead (1998, 2004) argues, given that the first cases of cliticless fronted objects tend to occur at an age when it is common for children to make omission errors regarding clitic use (Schaeffer 2000). Note, similarly, that contrastive focus is arguably a less frequent phenomenon than CLLD in adult Spanish. In this study, child uses of cliticless instances of fronted objects were computed as CLLDs in the various cases in which the parent

repeated the same sentence in an adult-like fashion by adding the clitic missing in the child's utterance.[11]

Taking into account the discussion in the preceding paragraph, in this study I disregarded the rather scarce unambiguous examples of contrastive focus, as exemplified in (15), where capitalization indicates focus:[12]

(15) A: Comiste carne
ate-2PG meat
'You had meat.'
B: CARNE no comí (comí pescado)
MEAT not ate-1SG (ate-1SG fish)
'MEAT, I didn't have. What I had was fish.'

2.4. Results

In this subsection, I turn to the results of this study. I first report the findings regarding the time-course of acquisition of *wh*-items and overt subjects, and then I report the results for dislocations/CLLDs and overt subjects.

2.4.1. The emergence of wh*-questions and overt subjects in child Spanish*

The following are examples of sentences containing early overt subjects (cf. (16)) and early wh-questions (cf. (17)) produced by the Iberian-Spanish-acquiring children of this study:

(16) a. peces no está [SV]
fish not is
'The fish are not (here).' [Emilio, 01;11,12]
b. los busco yo [VS]
cl. search I
'I will look for them.' [Emilio, 02;04,17]
c. este no tiene [SV]
this not has
'This doesn't have (X).' [Inés, 01;08,01]
d. no está nena [VS]
not is girl
'The girl isn't (here).' [Inés, 01;06,05]

[11] Additionally, I counted cases of dislocated bare nominals which do not compulsorily trigger the occurrence of the concomitant clitic (cf. Contreras 1991, Casielles 2001).

[12] NB: examples assume stress on the element being contrasted, though this may not be easily retrievable from written transcripts, only from the context.

e. y la ota se llama [SV]
and the other cl. name
'And the other is named...' [Irene, 01;10,29]

f. ahí ta Peter+Pan [VS]
there is Peter Pan
'Peter Pan is there.' [Irene, 01;07,22]

g. tato no (es)tá [SV]
tato not is
'X is not (here).' [Juan, 02;00,23]

h. no no no come Jaime [VS]
not x3 eats Jaime
'Jaime doesn't eat.' [Juan, 02;03,??]

(17) a. ¿Cómo se llama esto?
how cl. call this
'What is this called?' [Emilio, 02;03,01]

b. Bocadillo, ¿dónde está?
(the) sandwich where is
'As for the sandwich, where is it?' [Inés, 01;09,03]

c. Eso, ¿qué es?
that what is
'As for that, what is it? [Irene, 01;11,30]

d. ¿Dónde está?
where is
'Where is it?' [Juan, 03;06,??]

e. ¿Qué hace la moto?
what does the motorbike
'What is the motorbike doing?' [Magín, 01;09,27]

Focusing on the possible link between the appearance of overt subjects and wh-questions in child Spanish, the results summarized in Table 2 show that no Spanish-acquiring child started using wh-questions in exactly the same transcript as overt subjects –all children's first use of a wh-question occurred well after their first clear uses of overt subjects. However, it is well known that chronological age cannot reliably be taken as conclusive, since it is reasonable to assume that children do not use wh-questions as frequently as overt subjects in their naturalistic speech. In order to address this question I make recourse to the Binomial Test, outlined in Section 2.3.3. The p-values obtained for four out of five of the Iberian-Spanish-acquiring children are significant, strongly indicating that overt subjects emerged significantly earlier than wh-questions in the linguistic development of the relevant children. Although one single child suffices to reject the hypothesis that both structures are acquired concurrently, in this case we have four significant results. Note that the only one result above

the significance level is a null result, and thus it does not contradict the four significant results in any meaningful way.

TABLE 2
Checking for Concurrent Emergence: Overt Subjects and *Wh*-questions in Child Iberian Spanish—Results of the Statistical Analysis

Child	*Onset of Overt Subjects*	*Onset of Wh-Questions*	*# of Earlier Construction*	*Frequency Overt Subjs. Wh-Qs*		*p-value (Binomial Test)*
Emilio	01;09,19	02;03,01	14 (Overt S.)	144	48	$p = .018$ significant
Inés	01;06,05	01;09,03	36 (Overt S.)	141	6	$p = .223$ not significant
Irene	01;07,05	01;08,26	33 (Overt S.)	143	32	$p = .001$ significant
Juan	01;09,02	02;03	23 (Overt S.)	90	13	$p = .045$ significant
Magín	01;07,01	01;09,27	41 (Overt S.)	159	15	$p = .025$ significant

The results in Table 2 falsify Grinstead's (1998, 2004) and Grinstead and Spinner's (2009) claim that overt subjects in Spanish emerge at the same time as *wh*-questions. More generally, the findings in Table 2 provide grounds to refute the hypothesis that owing to problems accessing the interface between syntax and discourse-pragmatics, overt subjects, *wh*-questions, and CLLDed constituents alike emerge together in child Spanish at a stage when the syntax-pragmatics interface has already become available to the child, contra Grinstead (1998, 2004), Spinner and Grinstead (2006), and Grinstead and Spinner (2009). A significant result by Binomial Test directly contradicts an explanation based on the lower frequency of the construction appearing later (cf. Section 2.3.3), and instead supports a grammar-based hypothesis: the child had to learn some new information, beyond what she had to know for the first construction (i.e., overt subjects), before her grammar allowed her to produce the second construction (i.e., *wh*-questions).

At this point, I turn to non-wh-fronting phenomena such as CLLD, deferring further discussion of the findings of this section until the results obtained for both constructions have been presented.

2.4.2. *The emergence of left-dislocations and overt subjects in child Spanish*

Illustrative examples of early dislocations in child speech are given in (18).

(18) a. Esto lo toco
this cl. touch.1SG
'This, I touch it.' [Emilio, 02;06,18]

b. La yaya que viene
the granny that comes
'My grandmother is coming.' [Inés, 02;01,08]

c. Mami, eso, ¿qué es?
mom that what is
'Mom, as for that, what is it?' [Irene, 01;11,30]

d. Monos no hay
monkeys not are
'As for monkeys, there aren't any.' [Juan, 02;05,??]

e. La casita la vamos a colocar allí
the house cl. are+going to place there
'The house, we are gonna put it there.' [Magín, 02;03,02]

In parallel fashion to *wh*-questions, unambiguous cases of left-dislocations begin to be employed by the children under consideration later than overt subjects (see Table 3). Once more, genuine dislocations can be deemed to be less frequent than overt subjects.

TABLE 3
Checking for Concurrent Emergence: Overt Subjects and Dislocations in Child Iberian Spanish—Results of the Statistical Analysis

Child	*Onset of Overt Subjects*	*Onset of Dislocations*	*# of Earlier Construction*	*Frequency*		*p-value (Binomial Test)*
				Overt Subjs.	*Dislocat.*	
Emilio	01;09,19	02;03,01	15 (Overt S.)	144	21	$p = .130$ not significant
Inés	01;06,05	01;09,03	26 (Overt S.)	117	8	$p = .179$ not significant
Irene	01;07,05	01;11,13	47 (Overt S.)	222	6	$p = .286$ not significant
Juan	01;09,02	02;03	14 (Overt S.)	90	12	$p = .173$ not significant
Magín	01;07,01	01;09,01	6 (Overt S.)	328	9	$p = .850$ not significant

The results of the statistical analysis reported in Table 3 are not significant (i.e., null). Such results cannot be used to refute the hypothesis of simultaneous emergence of dislocations and subjects, nor can they be interpreted as lending strong support to the null hypothesis that overt subjects and dislocations emerge together in the spontaneous speech of Spanish-acquiring children. Taken together with the results obtained by Grinstead and Spinner (2009), according to which at least one child acquired subjects statistically significantly earlier than dislocations (see Section 2.1)–which in and of itself contradicts the hypothesis of simultaneous acquisition of the two constructions–the overall results can at best be interpreted as inconclusive. The fact that no significant result was found in the current study despite the clear chronological gap between the emergence of subjects and dislocations could stem from the fact that some preverbal subjects are in fact unambiguously left-dislocated in Spanish. This is indeed indicated by the examples of adult Spanish furnished in (11)-(13) above, which display subjects that are uncontroversially left-peripheral elements, further confirming the by-now standard claim that subjects in Spanish can be left-dislocated (López 2009). However, as will be argued in Section 3, there is evidence pointing to the conclusion that subjects in Spanish can but need not be left-dislocated –they can occupy a dedicated subject position in the inflectional layer. The acquisitional results reported here are fully consistent with this hypothesis.

2.4.3. General discussion

Altogether, the results in Table 2 and Table 3 have a number of implications. Given that there is a consistently significant difference between overt subjects and *wh*-questions in the data analyzed in this paper, the hypothesis that subjects, *wh*-questions, and dislocations emerge together in child Spanish can no longer be maintained. This weakens the strong claim that because the child initially does not have access to the syntax-pragmatics interface, all left-peripheral constructions start to emerge concurrently in the speech of children acquiring null-subject languages like Spanish (Grinstead 1998, 2004; Spinner and Grinstead 2006; Grinstead and Spinner 2009).

The results obtained hitherto raise a number of non-trivial issues for the analysis of overt subjects in Spanish as well as for the analysis of the left periphery.

First, the findings reported in the preceding subsections should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence that the topic field becomes available to the child before the focus field, although this is a possibility entertained by Grinstead (2004). It is important to note in this connection that in the case of three of the children under consideration (cf. Emilio, Inés and Juan), the first clear uses of *wh*-questions and dislocations occur in exactly the same transcript, indicating that the two constructions may have emerged concurrently. I will not discuss this finding further here for reasons of space, leaving it for future research.

Second, an important question which arises in light of the results reported in this paper is whether the fact that there is a significant gap between overt subjects and *wh*-questions casts doubt on the possibility that subjects may be located in [Spec, FocusP]. As mentioned above, it is important to highlight that it has been commonly assumed since Rizzi (1997) that in languages like Spanish, *wh*-items and foci occupy the same CP specifier, that is to say, [Spec, FocusP]. However, there are reasons to believe that even if the two constructions occupy the same syntactic position, they may have different requirements that the child needs to acquire. For instance, *wh*-questions are intimately associated with new-information focus, whereas focused elements may be contrastively focused, as argued by Laka (1990) and Rizzi (1997), among many others.

As far as the acquisition of dislocations is concerned, we found no conclusive result, although our reinterpretation of the statistical evidence reported by Grinstead and Spinner suggests that there is no connection between the emergence of overt subjects and that of dislocations. In sum, no clear acquisitional correlation between overt subjects and left-peripheral phenomena can be established at this point. By contrast, the evidence available to us is wholly compatible with theories that sever subjects from CP-related phenomena (e.g., analyses whereby preverbal subjects can occupy Spec,TP), since such theories predict no relation between the emergence of unambiguously left-peripheral phenomena and that of genuine subjects.

A question immediately posed by this state of affairs is what the grammar of the Spanish-acquiring child looks like at this point in development. Three possibilities will be considered, as shown in (i)-(iii). We focus on *wh*-

questions in (i)-(iii) given that no conclusive result was found in this study regarding the potential relationship between the emergence of subjects and dislocations. Yet, the possibilities in (i)-(iii) may ultimately apply to dislocations given the results obtained by Grinstead and Spinner (2009).

(i) The prerequisites for overt subjects and the prerequisites for *wh*-questions constitute non-overlapping sets, that is, the two structures have completely different prerequisites.

(ii) The prerequisites for overt subjects are a proper subset of those for *wh*-questions, which strongly predicts an ordering effect in acquisition (see Snyder 2007).

(iii) Overt subjects and *wh*-questions share certain prerequisites (i.e., the prerequisites are contained in the intersection of the two sets), *wh*-questions critically necessitating additional prerequisites that the child typically acquires later on. This would allow us to retain Grinstead's original analysis, *mutatis mutandis*.

Overall, the acquisitional and statistical evidence provided in this section casts doubt on the potential acquisitional correlation between overt subjects and dislocations and *wh*-items predicted by the CP account of overt subjects. In other words, the current findings can be interpreted as weakening the hypothesis that overt subjects in Spanish are *always* left-peripheral phenomena in the CP layer, contrary to what has often been assumed in the literature (see Section 1).[13] In the following section, I provide additional support for this conclusion from the realm of adult Spanish.

3. Syntactic evidence

In line with the conclusions reached in Section 2, there is also empirical evidence from adult Spanish suggesting that preverbal subjects in Spanish are *not always* left-dislocated constituents. The relevant evidence comes from the behavior of subjects and CLLDs/foci in the context of Spanish sentences involving *que* /ke/ 'that' + $V_{Subjunctive}$ configurations with desiderative/exhortative meaning.

[13] See Kapengianni (2010) for acquisitional data from child Greek in support of the hypothesis that preverbal subjects are genuine subjects.

Spanish exhibits a configuration characterized by the obligatory presence of the overt complementizer *que* 'that' and subjunctive morphology on the verb, as illustrated in (19). This pattern includes both exhortative/jussive (19a) and desiderative/optative (19b) sentences. By way of illustration, the speaker who utters (19a) is telling his/her interlocutor about an order or command that affects a third party. The speaker who utters (19b), on the other hand, does not need an interlocutor, since he or she is just expressing his/her desire that something happen to the person he or she is talking about (RAE 2009).[14]

(19) a. *Exhorative/jussive*
¡*(Que) se vaya!
that cl. go-3SG-SUBJ.
'I demand that he or she go away.'

b. *Desiderative/optative*
¡(A mi hermana,) *(que)le vaya todo bien!
DAT my sister that cl. go-3SG-SUBJ all well
'May everything turn out well for my sister/her.'

In Villa-García (2012a,b), I argue that this pattern is also found in embedded clauses, as illustrated by the following example involving a multiple-complementizer construction, where the lowest instance of *que* is obligatory, in much the same way as in (19) (sse Villa-García 2012a,b for a different multiple-*que* construction where the second occurrence of *que* is optional).

(20) Dice que con tu hermana, *(que) vayan los niños
says that with your sister that go-3PL-SUBJ the kids
'S/he demands that the kids go with your sister.'

A number of authors have argued that the low mandatory *que* in examples like (19)/(20) is the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood in languages like Italian and Spanish (Paoli 2003, 2006; Ledgeway 2005; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2007, 2009, in press; Villa-García 2012a,b, among

[14] It is important to mention that this construction is not limited to third-person contexts, but can actually be used with all persons when interpreted as a desiderative/optative, as shown in (i).

(i) ¡Que me muera/te mueras/se muera/nos muramos/os muráis/se mueran!
that cl. die-1SG/2SG/3SG/1PL/2PL/3PL
'I hope that I/you/he or she/we/you/they die(s).'

The reason why the examples provided throughout the main text all involve the third person is that the third person is compatible with non-pronominal subjects.

others).[15] These authors analyze this *que* as the head of the lowest CP-related projection in Rizzi's split-CP system, namely FinitenessP (cf. (5)). As noted in Section 2.2.2, FinitenessP has been independently argued to be the locus of mood features. Similarly, the "desiderative/exhortative" complementizer follows left-dislocations, as indicated by (19b) and (20), which further confirms that it heads a very low projection in the CP field.[16] The analysis of "desiderative/optative" *que* assumed in the cited works is shown schematically in (21).

(21) [ForceP [For' [TopicP CLLD [Top' [FinitenessP [Fin' que [TP … [T' V$_{Subjunctive}$]]]]]]]

Spanish desiderative/exhortative clauses exhibiting the *que* (FinitenessP) + V$_{Subjunctive}$ pattern provide a very interesting testing ground for the structural position of preverbal subjects. For this reason, in this section I discuss the relevance of the data presented below to the controversy regarding the analysis of preverbal subjects in Spanish, and go on to defend the view that Spanish preverbal subjects can in fact occupy either Spec,TP or a specifier in the CP domain.

More specifically, in this section I argue for the following claims:

(i) preverbal subjects in Spanish can be either in Spec,TP or in a specifier in the CP field;
(ii) genuine preverbal subjects and cases of CLLD/foci do *not* exhibit the same distribution; and
(iii) Spec,TP/AgrSP can be projected in Spanish and can only host *bona fide* subjects.

In what follows, I present the relevant distributional evidence from desiderative/exhortative contexts and discuss the implications of the data for

[15] It may be that what looks like subjunctive mood is in fact the morphological realization of optative/jussive mood, which happens to be homophonous with that of the subjunctive. In this sense, the obligatorily overt realization of *que*, together with the verbal morphology, could be taken to mark optative/jussive mood. Following the majority of the literature, however, I will continue to refer to the relevant mood as subjunctive for ease of exposition.

[16] The reader is referred to Villa-García (2012a) for a number of arguments in favor of this analysis.

the placement of preverbal subjects in adult Spanish and other Romance null-subject varieties.

3.1. The different behavior of subjects and CLLDed phrases/foci in Spanish desiderative/exhortative *que* + V$_{Subjunctive}$ sentences: implications for the analysis of preverbal subjects

3.1.1. "Desiderative/exhorative" que *and CLLD/foci*

In this section, I build on the data in (19b) and (20) and show that "desiderative/exhortative" *que* must follow left-dislocated/CLLDed phrases. In this connection, Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2009) claim that if left-dislocated material occurs in preverbal position, it precedes mandatory *que*. Thus, the contrast in (22)/(23) strongly suggests that *que* heads a very low CP-related projection (i.e., FinitenessP), since left-dislocated constituents (italicized in the examples in (22) and (23)) have to precede it (see also Ledgeway 2005 and references therein for Italian).[17,18]

(22) a. ¡*De mi hija*, que dejen de hablar ya!
of my daughter that give-up.3PL.SUBJ. of talk already
'I demand that they stop talking about my daughter once and for all.'

b. ¡*Si deciden dejarme*, que les vaya bien!
if decide leave+cl. that cl. go.3SG-SUBJ. well
'I hope everything goes well for them if they decide to leave me.'

c. ¡*El tenedor*, que lo cojan!
the fork that cl. take.3PL-SUBJ.
'I demand that they grab the fork.'

d. ¡*Este fin de semana*(,) *a mi casa*, que vengan todos!
this end of week to my house that come-3PL-SUBJ. all
'I demand that they all come to my place this weekend.'

e. ¡*A tu hermana*, que la busquen!
ACC your sister that cl. search-3PL-SUBJ.
'I demand that they look for your sister.'

[17] The left-dislocated phrases in the examples in (22) are more natural if a brief pause occurs between the dislocate and *que*. This pause is represented orthographically by the comma that appears in the examples. When uttered normally, all the desiderative/exhortative sentences in this section end with falling intonation.

[18] As the exemplification throughout this section reveals, desiderative and exhortative *que* + subjunctive patterns behave in the same way in all the relevant respects.

f. ¡*Enfermo*, que no vaya a trabajar!
sick that not go.3SG-SUBJ. to work
'I demand that he not go to work if he's sick.'

g. ¡*Aunque no les guste*, que vayan al teatro!
even-though not cl. like that go-3PL-SUBJ. to+the theater
'I demand that they go to the theater, even if they don't like it.'

h. ¡*Al que robó*, que lo castigue!
ACC+the that stole that cl. punish-3SG-SUBJ.
'I demand that he or she punish the one that stole.'

(23) a. ?*¡Que *de mi hija* dejen de hablar ya![19]
that of my daughter give-up-3PL-SUBJ. of talk already

b. ?*¡Que *si deciden dejarme* les vaya bien!
that if decide leave+cl. cl. go-3SG-SUBJ. well

c. ?*¡Que *el tenedor* lo cojan!
that the fork cl. take-3PL-SUBJ.

d. ?*¡*Este fin de semana*, que *a mi casa* vengan todos!
this end of week that to my house come-3PL-SUBJ. all

e. ?*¡Que *a tu hermana* la busquen!
that ACC your sister cl. search-3PL-SUBJ.

f. ?*¡Que *enfermo* no vaya a trabajar!
that sick not go-3SG-SUBJ. to work

[19] The data reported in this section are representative of present-day Iberian Spanish, although speakers of other varieties report identical judgments. Similarly, a preliminary study of other null-subject Romance varieties such as standard Italian reveals the same word order possibilities regarding the construction at issue, though I focus exclusively on Spanish. It is beyond the scope of the paper to provide a dialectal study of word order or a historical account of *que* + $V_{Subjunctive}$ patterns (since speakers note that some of the sentences in (23) sound somewhat archaic and literary). This is not surprising given the existence of traditional, formulaic expressions involving the same pattern, illustrated in (i).

(i) ¡Que *en paz* descanse!
that in peace rest-3SG-SUBJ.
'R.I.P.'

Note that sentences like those in (23a, b, c, e, f, g, and h) become fully grammatical as long as another instance of *que* occurs right below the italicized constituents. In such contexts, the high *que* is interpreted as an instance of quotative *que*, a marker of hearsay in the sense of Etxepare (2010), and the low complementizer is the mandatory lexicalization of the subjunctive mood in Finiteness^{o}, consistent with the analysis in (21)/(24). I illustrate this in (i), which in fact confirms that the mandatory complementizer associated with the subjunctive mood is a very low head:

(ii) ¡(Que) *de mi hija*, *(que) dejen de hablar ya! (cf. (23a))
that of my daughter that stop-3PL-SUBJ. of talk already
'I/somebody ordered that everybody stop talking about my daughter once and for all.'

g. ?*¡Que *aunque* *no* *les guste* vayan al teatro!
that even-though not cl. like go-3PL-SUBJ. to+the theater

h. ?*¡Que *al* *que robó* lo castigue!
that ACC+the that stole cl. punish-3SG-SUBJ.

On the assumption that CLLDed elements (viz. the italicized phrases in (22) and (23)) target Spec,TopicP, I argue for the structure in (21), repeated here in (24).

(24) [ForceP [For' [TopicP CLLD [Top' [FinitenessP [Fin' que [TP … [T' VSubjunctive]]]]]]]]

The account sketched in (24) correctly captures the fact that CLLDed material must precede *que* ((22) vs. (23)) as well as the close connection between obligatory *que* and the subjunctive mood.

Similarly, it is important to note that, in analogous fashion to CLLDed phrases, focused constituents cannot appear after *que* in the structure under consideration either, as shown in (25).

(25) *¡Que *SÓLO A TU MADRE* inviten (, no a tu padre)!
that only ACC your mother invite-3PL-SUBJ. not your father
'I demand that they invite only your mother, not your father.'

This is expected under the account in (24), on the assumption that focused phrases target Spec,FocusP, given that the *que* here is in the lowest CP-related projection (i.e., FinitenessP).[20]

[20] Foci cannot appear to the left of the low complementizer *que*, since medial and low complementizers in Spanish display island-creating properties (i.e., movement across the low complementizer induces a locality-of-movement effect) (Villa-García 2012b). As a result, only elements that can be base-generated in pre-low-*que* position can occur in this construction. The data in (i) show that dislocated phrases to the left of "desiderative/exhortative" *que* do not exhibit reconstruction effects, unlike their counterparts without a lower complementizer (López 2009, Zubizarreta 1998, among others), which I take to indicate that dislocated phrases occurring higher than lexical *que* complementizers are derived by base-generation rather than movement (Villa-García 2012c):

(i) (a) A su*i/j hijo que nadiei le pegue
ACC his/their son that nobody cl. hit
'I demand that nobody hit his/their (=somebody else's) son.' [*bound reading]

(b) A sui/j hijo nadiei le debería pegar
ACC his/their son nobody cl. should hit
'Nobody should hit his/their son.'

At this point, a natural question to pose is where preverbal subjects can occur in the construction under consideration.

3.2.1. "Desiderative/exhortative" que *and preverbal subjects*

In glaring contrast to unambiguous cases of CLLD (cf. (23)), subjects can appear in the position sandwiched between *que* and the subjunctive verb in the configuration in question, as shown by the examples in (26), inspired by Beas (2007), Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009), and RAE (2009).

(26) a. ¡Que *Antonio* no lo vea!
that Anthony not cl. see-3SG-SUBJ.
'I demand that Anthony not see it.'

(Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009:39)

b. A ese alumno, que *los profesores* no lo dejen salir
ACC that student that the teachers not cl. let-3PL-SUBJ. exit
hasta las 6
until the 6
'I demand that the teachers not allow that student to leave until six.'

(Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009:39)

c. ¡Que *los que maten* se mueran de miedo!
that the that kill cl. die-3PL-SUBJ. of fear
'I hope those who kill will die of fear.'

(*Noches de Boda*, Spanish song by Joaquín Sabina, 1990)

d. ¡Que *la niña del segundo* se calle de una vez!
that the girl of+the second cl. shut-up-3SG-SUBJ. of one time
'I demand (or hope) that the girl living on the second floor stop(s) talking once and for all.'

Furthermore, subjects can precede *que*, in analogous fashion to CLLDed phrases (cf. (22)), as illustrated in (27), which further confirms the by-now uncontroversial claim noted in Section 2 that subjects in Spanish can be left-dislocated constituents in the CP domain (López 2009).

(27) ¡*Antonio*, que no lo vea!
Anthony that not cl. see-3SG-SUBJ.
'I demand that Anthony not see it.'

Consequently, only dislocated phrases that can be base-generated in the left periphery can appear to the left of low complementizers. Therefore, constituents such as foci and *wh*-items (which are standardly assumed to be derived by movement) cannot precede this type of *que* (Villa-García 2012c).

3.1.3. Implications for the analysis of preverbal subjects in Spanish

The contrast between (26) and (23) brings to light an important difference between preverbal subjects and uncontroversially left-dislocated/CLLDed constituents: whereas preverbal subjects can be either higher (cf. (27)) or lower (cf. (26)) than compulsory *que* in *que* + $V_{Subjunctive}$ desiderative/exhortative constructions, non-subject dislocated phrases can readily occur above *que* (cf. (22)), but *not* below *que* (cf. (23)), in the construction at hand.

The different distributional possibilities of the relevant constituents in the construction at issue are summarized in simplified form in the bracketed structure in (28).

(28) ...✓Dislocate-CLLD/✓Dislocated Subject >*que* > ✓Subject XP/(?)*Non-Subject XP >V_{Subj}…

This state of affairs points to a crucial distributional asymmetry between preverbal subjects and CLLD in Spanish, which refutes the influential claim that preverbal subjects are *always* CLLDed constituents in the CP layer.[21]

Furthermore, the analysis advocated in this paper (cf. (24)) correctly predicts that the same pattern should be found in embedded contexts exhibiting "desiderative/exhortative" *que*, exemplified in (20). As the minimal pair in (29) shows, whereas CLLDed phrases cannot appear in between the low complementizer and the subjunctive verb (cf. (29a)), subjects can (cf. (29b)). Thus, the contrast between CLLDed constituents and subjects in the context of "jussive/optative" *que* holds not only for matrix contexts, but also for embedded contexts. Note, similarly, that the data in (29) confirm the correctness of the analysis in (24), wherein the *que* characteristic of desiderative/exhortative constructions is the head of a very low left-peripheral projection (i.e., FinitenessP), with the high *que* occupying the head position of a higher left-peripheral projection (i.e., Force^{o}, by hypothesis).

(29) a. ?*Dicen que, si llueve, que *a mis padres* los llamen
say that if rains that ACC my parents cl. call-3PL-SUBJ.
'They demand that they call my parents if it rains.'

[21] In their discussion of "desiderative/exhortative" *que*, Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) do not note the contrast between subjects and non-subjects. They present the relevant examples regarding subjects (i.e., subjects can appear in between the complementizer and the verb, namely ((26a,b)), but they do not notice the relevant facts presented in this paper.

b. Dicen que, si llueve, que *mis padres* los llamen
say that if rains that my parents cl. call-3PL-SUBJ.
'They demand that my parents call them if it rains.'

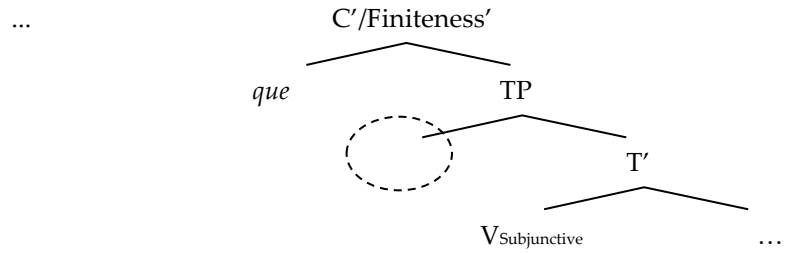
The data noted above provide evidence that there exists a dedicated preverbal syntactic position in Spanish which can only be occupied by genuine subjects to the exclusion of non-subject preverbal XPs. Given the analysis in (24) and the standard assumption that Spanish displays V-to-T movement, the position occupied by the subject (and *only* by the subject) in (26)/(29b) must be located within the inflectional layer (i.e., the subject must be in a position along the lines of Spec,TP/AgrSP), as shown in (30).[22]

(30) a. … [FinitenessP [Fin′ *que* [TP *la niña del segundo* [T′ *se calle*] …]]] (root; cf. (26d))

b. … [ForceP [For′ *que* [TopicP *si llueve* [Top′ [FinitenessP [Fin′ *que* [TP *mis padres* [T′ *los llamen*] …]]]]]]]
(embedded; cf. (29b))

More abstractly, the evidence adduced in this section leads to the conclusion that there is a specialized subject position between the CP layer and the verb in Tº, namely Spec,TP, as shown in arboreal form in (31).

(31)



Additionally, the contrast between (26) and (23) (see also (29b) vs. (29a)) indicates that Spec,TP in Spanish is unable to host phrases other than subjects (including both CLLDed phrases and foci), which weakens the claim put forward by proponents of the Generalized-Spec,TP-as-an-Ā-position account that Spec,TP can host Ā-moved elements such as non-subject topics. In this paper, I leave open the issue of whether Spec,TP in Spanish is an A-position or

[22] The standard diagnostic test for verb movement indicates that the verb moves to the inflectional domain in the *que* + VSubjunctive patterns under consideration, as shown in (i) (see Emonds 1978 and Pollock 1989, *inter alia*).

(i) ¡Que los hijos de Juan se coman *rápido* la manzana!
that the children of John cl. eat-3PL-SUBJ.. fast the apple
'I demand that John's children eat the apple fast.'

an Ā-position, noting that the fact that Spec,TP might be an Ā-position in Spanish does not necessarily mean that it can host any element (i.e., it can still be a dedicated subject position).[23]

The phenomenon discussed in this section is also relevant to the proper analysis of Locative Inversion in Spanish. Authors including Torrego (1989), Zubizarreta (1998), and Ortega-Santos (2005) have argued that Spec,TP in Spanish can be occupied by non-subject phrases such as locatives, depending on discourse structure, as (32) shows.

(32) *Aquí* ponemos unas mesas de bienvenida
here put-1PL some tables of welcome
'We place some conference registration tables here.'

As illustrated in (33c), whereas the locative adverb *aquí* 'here' can appear in different positions in the sentence, it cannot (easily) occur between *que* and the subjunctive verb in exhortative constructions headed by *que*.

(33) a. ¡Que pongan unas mesas de bienvenida *aquí*!
that put-3PL-SUBJ. some tables of welcome here
b. ¡Que pongan *aquí* unas mesas de bienvenida!
c. ??¡Que *aquí* pongan unas mesas de bienvenida!
d. ¡*Aquí*, que pongan unas mesas de bienvenida!
All: 'I demand that they place some conference registration tables here.'

The data in (33) provide preliminary evidence that Locative Inversion in Spanish does not target Spec,TP, since it is not possible to place the locative in the position sandwiched between *que* and the subjunctive verb (cf. (33c)). If locatives were subjects in Spec,TP, they should display the same distributional properties as "true" subjects (cf. (26)), contrary to fact.[24] I will not explore this issue further here, leaving it for future research.

[23] The reader is referred to Ortega-Santos (2008: Ch. 4) for an account of the observed differences with regard to surface semantics displayed by subjects in Spec,TP in English and subjects in Spec,TP in Spanish based on Uriagareka's (1999 *et seq.*) Multiple Spell-Out system.

[24] The reader is also referred to Kempchinsky (2002) for additional evidence that locatives in Spanish are not in Spec,TP. The reader should note that some of my consultants disallow any non-subject phrase between *que* and the verb, but accept sentences where an adverbial intervenes between *que* and the verb. At this point, we have two options for the grammars of such speakers: either the adverbials are adjoined to TP or, in the case of locative adverbials (cf. (33c)), the locatives behave as subjects

Before concluding this section, I would like to present evidence from other Romance varieties indicating that there are other Spanish-style null-subject languages that also have a dedicated preverbal subject position. The relevant variety is the Italian dialect of Abruzzese. Consider the data in (34), from D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010: 2052).

(34) a. Je so ditte ca *la machine* c' occhе zi li pije
cl. I-am said that the car that mod. cl. cl. takes-IND
'I told him to take the car.'

b. So ditte ca, *si ni funzione la machine*, ca *Gianne*
I-am said that if not works the car that Gianni
occhе le porte a lu meccaniche
mod. CL. take-IND to the mechanic
'I said that, if the car won't work, Gianni should take it to the mechanic.'

c. *Je so ditte ca, *si ni funzione*, ca *la machine* occhе
CL. I-am said that if not works that the car mod.
le porte a lu meccaniche
CL. take-IND. to the mechanic
'I told him that, if it won't work, he should take the car to the mechanic.'

Aside from double-complementizer constructions (i.e., *ca* LD *ca*), Abruzzese has the particle *occhе*, which D'Alessandro and Ledgeway argue is a T-element lexicalizing modal features associated with the embedded verb. According to D'Alessandro and Ledgeway, the low instance of *ca* lexicalizes Finiteness^{0}. Note that the position sandwiched between *ca*s can host left-dislocated elements, as shown by the examples in (34). However, as indicated by the contrast between (34b) and (34c), the position situated between the low complementizer *ca* and the T-element *occhе* can be occupied by *bona fide* subjects, as indicated by (34b), but *not* by non-subject XPs, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (34c). D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010: 2052) take this asymmetry to indicate "that the position immediately above *occhе* but below *ca*$_2$ is not a left-peripheral position but, rather, a dedicated subject position, namely Spec,TP." The different patterns arising from the Abruzzese facts in (34) are summarized in (35).

hosted in Spec,TP for these speakers. It is important to note that even if it turns out that the right analysis of locatives in Locative Inversion is that they are located in Spec,TP, nothing changes regarding the main hypothesis advanced in this section that Spec,TP is a dedicated subject position, since, as shown by Ortega-Santos (2005), among others, the locative behaves like a subject in certain relevant respects.

(35) ... *ca* > ˇDISLOCATE > *ca* > ˇSUBJECT XP/*NON-SUBJECT XP > *occhе* …

The Abruzzese facts reviewed here hence provide independent confirmation from Romance that the claim made for Spanish in this section is on the right track. I therefore conclude that, contrary to what has often been claimed in the literature, Spanish has a syntactic position in the inflectional layer which can only be occupied by genuine subjects to the exclusion of non-subject XPs. It follows, then, that whereas preverbal subjects in Spanish can be left-dislocated constituents, they can also be canonical subjects in Spec,TP/AgrSP.

To the extent that the results provided in this section are correct, the configuration identified here avails itself as a Spec,TP-detector.

4. Conclusion

This paper took as its point of departure the longstanding debate over the analysis of overt subjects in Spanish. In order to shed light on this old issue, the project was conceived to provide novel evidence from both child and adult Spanish.

To this end, a longitudinal study of five Iberian-Spanish-acquiring children was conducted in order to replicate Grinstead's studies. Grinstead's investigations aimed to test the CP-account of overt subjects outlined in Section 1.2 acquisitionally. Such an account predicts an acquisitional correlation between overt subjects and less controversially left-peripheral phenomena such as CLLD and *wh*-questions. The present study showed that the hypothesis formulated by Grinstead and colleagues that overt subjects emerge developmentally at the same time as *wh*-questions and instances of CLLD can no longer be maintained, a claim for which I have provided acquisitional evidence. More concretely, I have argued that overt subjects are acquired statistically significantly earlier than *wh*-items in child Spanish. As far as dislocations are concerned, the results of the Binomial Test did not reach significance, which can be considered inconclusive. However, this finding, coupled with Grinstead and Spinner's (2009) significant results for one child, considerably undermines the hypothesis of concurrent emergence of overt subjects and CLLD, which counters the subjects-in-the-CP-field hypothesis outlined in Section 1.2.

In the second part of the paper, I provided new empirical evidence suggesting that overt subjects do not display the same distribution as CLLDed constituents in the context of "desiderative/exhortative" sentences mandatorily headed by *que* 'that'. I went on to argue that preverbal subjects in Spanish can be in Spec,TP or in a specifier in the CP domain; genuine preverbal subjects and cases of CLLD do *not* exhibit the same distribution; and Spec,TP/AgrSP can indeed be projected in Spanish and can only host *bona fide* subjects. More specifically, based on the different distribution of *bona fide* subjects and uncontroversially left-dislocated/CLLDed phrases (and foci) in the context of *que* + $V_{Subjunctive}$ patterns with desiderative/exhortative meaning, I have shown that whereas subjects in Spanish can occur either higher or lower than *que*, CLLDed phrases can only precede *que*; they cannot appear between *que* and the subjunctive verb. This state of affairs strongly suggests that Spec,TP is available in Spanish. Put differently, preverbal subjects in Spanish can (but *need not*) be left-dislocated: they can occupy a specifier in the CP domain, but crucially they can also occupy the canonical subject position –Spec,TP. Similarly, the paper argues against the Generalized-Spec,TP-as-an-Ā-position account, since Spec,TP is restricted to *bona fide* subjects, regardless of whether Spec,TP enjoys A- or Ā-status. To the extent that the argument advanced in this paper is correct, the configuration identified here avails itself as a diagnostic for Spec,TP.

REFERENCES

Aguado-Orea, Javier & Pine, Julián. 2002. There is no evidence for a 'no overt subject' stage in early child Spanish: a note on Grinstead (2000). *Journal of Child Language 29*, 865-874.

Aguirre, Carmen. 1995. *La adquisición de las categorías gramaticales en español*. Doctoral dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

Alexiadou, Artemis & Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parameterizing AGR: Word Order, V-Movement and EPP-Checking. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16, 491-539.

Austin, Jennifer, María Blume, David Parkinson, Barbara C. Lust & Zelmira Núñez del Prado. 1997. The Status of Pro-Drop in the Initial State. In Ana Teresa Pérez-Leroux & William Glass (eds.), *Contemporary Perspectives on the Acquisition of Spanish*. 37-54. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Baker, Mark. 1996. *The Polysynthesis Parameter*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Barbosa, Pilar. 1995. *Null Subjects*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Barbosa, Pilar. 2000. Clitics: a window into the null subject property. In João Costa (ed.), *Portuguese Syntax. New Comparative Studies*. 31-94. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barbosa, Pilar. 2009. Two Kinds of Subject *pro*. *Studia Linguistica* 63, 2-58.

Beas, Omar. 2007. *Agreement on the Left Edge and the Syntax of Dislocation in Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California.

Bel, Aurora. 2001. Sujetos nulos y sujetos explícitos en las gramáticas iniciales del castellano y el catalán. *Revista Española de Lingüística,* 31, 537-562.

Bel, Aurora. 2003. The syntax of subjects in the acquisition of Spanish and Catalan. *Probus* 15, 1-26.

Belletti, Adriana. 1988. The Case of Unaccusatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 1-34.

Belletti, Adriana. 2004. Aspects of the low IP area. In Luigi Rizzi (ed.), *The Structure of IP and CP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* (vol.2.). 16-51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Camacho, José. 2006. Do Subjects have a Place in Spanish? In Jean-Pierre Montreuil & Chiyo Nishida (eds.), *New Perspectives in Romance Linguistics*. 51-66. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Camacho, José. 2011. On the position of preverbal subject in Spanish. A view from the discourse perspective, ms, Rutgers University.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 1996. Subjects and clause structure. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 6, 55–95.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 2004. Toward a cartography of subject positions. In Luigi Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* (vol. 2). 115-165. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Casielles, Eugenia. 2001. The Syntax and Semantics of Preverbal Topical Phrases in Spanish. In Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach & Luis Silva-Villar (eds.), *Current Issues in Spanish Syntax and Semantics*. 65-82. Berlin/New York: Mouton DeGruyter.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. Types *of Ā-dependencies*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Contreras, Heles. 1991. On the position of subjects. *Syntax and Semantics* **25**, 63–79.

Costa, João. 2004. *Subject Positions and Interfaces: The Case of European Portuguese*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

D'Alessandro, Roberta & Adam Ledgeway. 2010. At the C-T boundary: Investigating Abruzzese complementation. *Lingua* 120, 2040-2060.

Demonte, Violeta & Olga Fernández-Soriano 2007. La periferia izquierda oracional y los complementantes del español. In Juan Cuartero & Martine Emsel (eds.), *Vernetzungen: Kognition, Bedeutung, (kontrastive) Pragmatik*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Demonte, Violeta & Olga Fernández-Soriano. 2009. Force and finiteness in the Spanish complementizer system. *Probus* 21, 23–49.

Demonte, Violeta & Olga Fernández-Soriano. In press. El 'que' citativo en español y otros elementos de la periferia oracional. Variación inter e intralingüística. In Daniel Jakob & Katya Plooj (eds.), *Autour de 'que'. Frankfurt:* Peter Lang.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1994. *The Syntax of Romanian: Comparative Studies in Romance*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Emonds, Joe. 1978. The Verbal Complex V'-V in French. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9, 151-176.

Etxepare, Ricardo & Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria. 2008. On Negation and Focus in Spanish and Basque. In Xabier Artiagoitia & Joseba Lakarra (eds.), *Gramatika Jaietan: Patxi Goenaga irakaslearenOmenaldiz.* Special issue of *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology*. 287-310.

Etxepare, Ricardo. 2010. From hearsay evidentiality to samesaying relations. *Lingua* 120, 604-627.

Fontana, Josep M. 1993. *Phrase structure and the syntax of clitics in the history of Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Gallego, Ángel. 2007. *Phase theory and parametric variation*. Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Goodall, Grant. 2001. The EPP in Spanish. In William Davies & Stanley Dubinsky (eds.), *Objects and Other Subjects: Grammatical Functions, Functional Categories, and Configurationality*. 193-223. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Grinstead, John & Patti Spinner. 2009. The clausal left periphery in child Spanish and German. *Probus* 21, 51-82.

Grinstead, John. 1998. *Subjects, sentential negation, and imperatives in child Spanish and Catalan,* Doctoral dissertation, UCLA.

Grinstead, John. 2000. Tense, Number and Nominative Case Assignment in Child Catalan and Spanish. *Journal of Child Language* 27, 119-155.

Grinstead, John. 2004. Subjects and Interface Delay in Child Spanish and Catalan. *Language* 80, 40-72.

Gupton, Timothy. 2010. *The Syntax Information Structure Interface: Subjects and Clausal Word Order in Galician*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa.

Gupton, Timothy. To appear. Preverbal Subjects in Galician: Experimental Data in the A vs. Ā Debate. *Probus*.

Holmberg, Anders. 2005. Is there a little pro? Evidence from Finnish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36, 533-564.

Kapetangianni, Konstantia. 2010. Variable word order in child Greek. In Merete Anderssen, Kristine Bentzen & Marit Westergaard (eds.), *Variation in the Input*. 179-204. Dordrecht: Springe.

Kato, Mary. 1999. Strong pronouns and weak pronominals in the null subject parameter. *Probus* 11, 1-37.

Kempchinsky, Paula. 2002. Locative Inversion, PP Topicalization, and the EPP. In Teresa Satterfield, Christina Tortora & Diana Cresti (eds.), *Current Issues in Romance Languages*. 145-159. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Laka, Itziar. 1990. *Negation in syntax*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2005. Moving through the left periphery: the dual complementizer system in the dialects of Southern Italy. *Philological Society* 103, 229-396.

López, Luis. 2009. *A Derivational Syntax for Information Structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MacWhinney, Brian. 2000. *Guide to CHILDES data on the acquisition of Romance languages*. Mahwah, NH: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Manzini, Rita & Leonardo M. Savoia. *2002.* Parameters of Subject Inflection in Italian Dialects. In Peter Svenonious (ed.), *Subjects, Expletives, and the EPP*. 157-200. New York: Oxford University Press.

Martín-González, Javier. 2002. *The Syntax of sentential negation in Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Masullo, Pascual. 1992. *Incorporation and Case Theory in Spanish: A Crosslinguistic Perspective*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.

Motapanyane-Hill, Virginia. 1991. *Theoretical Implications of the Complementation in Romanian*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Genève.

Ojea, Ana. 1997. Categorías funcionales y adquisición de la primera lengua: Un análisis contrastivo. In *Revista Española de Lingüística* 27, 425-446.

Olarrea, Antxon. 1996. *Pre and Postverbal Subjects in Spanish: A Minimalist Account*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.

Ordóñez, Francisco & Esthela Treviño. 1999. Left dislocated subjects and the pro-drop parameter: A case study of Spanish. *Lingua* 107, 39-68.

Ordóñez, Francisco. 1997. *Word Order and Clausal Structure of Spanish and Other Romance Languages*. Doctoral dissertation, CUNY.

Ortega-Santos, Iván. 2005. On Locative Inversion and the EPP in Spanish. *Actas del VIII Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística del Noroeste de la Universidad de Sonora*. 131-150. Universidad de Sonora, México.

Ortega-Santos, Iván. 2006. On Postverbal Subjects, PF and the Copy Theory: The Spanish Case. In Nuria Sagarra & Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 9th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. 56-66. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Ortega-Santos, Iván. 2008. Projecting Subjects in English and Spanish. Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland-College Park.

Otero, Carlos. 1993. Head Movement, Cliticization, and Word Insertion. In Robert Freidin (ed.), *Current Issues in Comparative Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Paoli, Sandra. 2003. *COMP and the left periphery: Comparative Evidence from Romance*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester.

Paoli, Sandra. 2006. The fine structure of the left periphery: COMPs and subjects: evidence from Romance. *Lingua* 117, 1057-1079.

Philippaki-Warburton, Irene. 1985. Word order in Modern Greek. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 113-143.

Poeppel, David & Kenneth Wexler. 1993. The full competence hypothesis. *Language* 60, 1-33.

Pollock, Yean-Yves. 1989. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 365-424.

RAE. 2009. *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española*. Real Academia Española (RAE). Madrid: Espasa.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Liliane Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*. 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Rizzi, Luigi. 2001. On the position "Int(errogative)" in the left periphery of the clause. In Guglielmo Cinque & Giampaolo Salvi (eds.), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. 287–296. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Rizzi, Luigi. 2004. Locality and Left Periphery. In Adriana Belletti (ed.), *Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, vol.3, 223-225. Oxford University Press.

Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, Miguel. 2007. *The Syntax of Objects: Agree and Differential Object Marking*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.

Ron, María Pilar. 1998. *The Position of the Subject in Spanish and Clausal Structure: Evidence from Dialectal Variation*. Doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, Illinois.

Roussou, Anna & Ianthi-Maria Tsimpli. 2006. On Greek VSO again. *Journal of Linguistics* 42, 317-354.

Roussou, Anna. 2000. On the left periphery: Modal particles and complementizers. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 1, 65-94.

Schaeffer, Jeannette. 2000. *The Acquisition of Direct Object Scrambling and Clitic Placement*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Snyder, William & Karin Stromswold. 1997. The structure and acquisition of English dative constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28, 281-317.

Snyder, William. 2007. *Child Language: The Parametric Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Solà, Jaume. 1992. *Agreement and Subjects*, Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Speas, Margaret. 1994. Null Arguments in a Theory of Economy of Projection. In Elena Benedicto & Jeff Runner (eds.), *UMass Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 17, 179-209.

Spinner, Patti & John Grinstead. 2006. Subjects, Topicalizations and *Wh*-Questions in Child German and Southern Romance. In Nuria Sagarra & Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 9th Hispanic Linguistic Symposium*. 241-251. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Spyropoulos, Vassilios & Anthi Revithiadou. 2009. Subject chains in Greek and PF processing. In Claire Halpert, Jeremy Hartman & David Hill (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2007 workshop in Greek syntax and semantics at MIT*. Cambridge, MA: MWPL, 293-309.

Stromswold, Karin. 1996. Analyzing children's spontaneous speech. In Dana McDaniel, Cecile McKee & Helen Smith-Cairns (eds.), *Methods for assessing children's syntax*. 22-53. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Suñer, Margarita. 2003. The Lexical Preverbal Subject in a Romance Null Subject Language: Where Art Thou? In Rafael Núñez-Cedeño et al. (eds.), *A romance perspective on language knowledge and use.* 341-357. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Taraldsen, Knut. 1992. Subject/Verb-Agreement in Celtic and Romance. *Proceedings of NELS*, GLSA, Amherst.

Ticio, Emma. 2004. On the position of subjects in Puerto Rican Spanish. In Miguel Rodríguez-Mondoñedo & Emma Ticio (eds.), *The University of Connecticut Working Papers in Linguistics* (*UCONNWPL*) 12, 78-92.

Torrego, Esther. 1984. On Inversion in Spanish and Some of Its Effects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15, 103-129.

Torrego, Esther. 1989. U*nergative unaccusative* alternations. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 10, 253-272.

Uriagereka, Juan. 1999. Multiple Spell-Out. In Samuel Epstein & Norbert Hornstein (eds.), *Working Minimalism*. 251-282. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Uribe-Etxebarria, Myriam. 1992. On the Structural Positions of the Subject in Spanish, their Nature and their Consequences for Quantification. In

Joseba Lakarra and Jon Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Studies in Generative Grammar and Basque Syntax*. *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philosophy*, 447-491.

Vila, Ignasi. 1984. *La competencia comunicativa en los dos primeros años de vida.* Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Barcelona.

Villa-García, Julio & William Snyder. 2010. On the acquisition of overt subjects, topics and *wh*-questions in Spanish. In João Costa, María Lobo & Fernanda Pratas (eds.), *Language Acquisition and Development: Proceedings of GALA 2009*. 493-504.Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Villa-García, Julio. 2011. Acquisitional Evidence Bearing on the Account of Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Spanish. In Luis Ortiz (ed.), *Selected Proceedings of the 13th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. 178-189. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Villa-García, Julio. 2012a. Characterizing Medial and Low Complementizers in Spanish: Recomplementation *Que* and 'Jussive/Optative' *Que*. In Melvin González-Rivera & Sandro Sessarego (eds.), *Current Formal Aspects of Spanish Syntax and Semantics*. 198-228. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Villa-García, Julio. 2012b. *The Spanish Complementizer System: Consequences for the Syntax of Dislocations and Subjects, Locality of Movement, and Clausal Structure.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.

Villa-García, Julio. 2012c. Recomplementation and locality of movement in Spanish. *Probus* 24 (2), 257-314.

Villa-García, Julio. To appear. On the Role of Children's Deterministic Learning in the 'No-Overt-Subject' Stage in the L1 Acquisition of Spanish. In *Proceedings of the 37th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*.

Yang, Charles. 2011. Three factors in language variation. In Anna Maria Di Sciullu & Cedric Boeckx (eds.), *The Biolinguistic Enterprise: New Perspectives on the Evolution and Nature of the Human Language Faculty*. 181-204. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zubizarreta, María Luisa. 1998. *Word Order, Prosody and Focus*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Zubizarreta, María Luisa. 1999. Word order in Spanish and the nature of nominative Case. In Kyle Johnson & Ian Roberts (eds.), *Beyond Principles and Parameters*. 223-250. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Reception date/Fecha de recepción/Data de recepção: 05/05/2012
Revision date/Fecha de revisión/Data de revisão: 28/06/2012
Acceptation date/Fecha de aceptación/Data de aceitação: 29/06/2012

Julio Villa-García
julio.villa-garcia@villanova.edu
Villanova University